

New-York Daily Tribune.

MONDAY, JULY 4, 1853.

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he shall be compelled to lock his vaults in their faces and stand sentinel with a club before the door. Should he pay any such brazen swindle, he will assuredly be impeached, even though it should be necessary to choose a Legislature on that issue alone.

If the public business were only done, even lazily and badly, the ground of complaint would be diminished; but while the People are called to pay the price of two sessions, they will hardly receive in return the average results of one. While all manner of petty and paltry bills are considered and passed through, the important Code Reform is studiously and shamefully avoided; the Maine Law is left to be kicked aside, or made to fall between the two Houses by some eleventh hour juggle, and not even the necessary Annual Appropriation bills are yet passed. And still sitting after sitting is consumed in self plotting and counterplotting, and in the consideration of bills of no public interest or importance.

The last exhibition yet made—that of Thursday in the Assembly on Mr. Daniel B. Taylor's "National Resolutions"—is eminently worthy of this Legislature. It was a simple fact-fight, wherein the "Nationalists" or "Hunkers," *ad pro tem*, by the "Whigs," undertook to make the Barnburners and "Soft-shells" define their position on the Fugitive Slave Law—which they did, the Softs by voting with the Nationalists to indorse the act—the Barnburners generally by running away. The introduction of these resolutions was exactly a repetition of the game played in the last Whig National Convention by those Northern Delegates who, unable to lead him with weight enough to insure his defeat. We think the Barnburners should have faced the music and voted No. They said this quite as emphatically by running as they could have done by voting; and since they have swallowed Pierce, his Platform and his flag, in spite of their hostility to the Fugitive Slave Law, and he had given them offices notwithstanding such hostility, they evinced neither courage nor wisdom in degrading the vote as they did. But we will further consider this point.

THE CHURCH PROPERTY BILL.

We admit a debate on the Church Property bill, and that our numerous correspondents with respect to it have blackened our very thoroughly. If calling names like "Papist," "Infidel," "tool of the Jesuits," &c. &c. are convincing arguments, then we are beaten also on the merits of the question. But, before we part, gentlemen, permit us to give you a parting salutation. Let us once more remind you, then, that

1. It is false—what of you ignorantly, with others (we fear) wilfully false—that Mr. Taylor's bill vests the free system of Catholic Churches in the Bishops of that Church, or that it affects such fee simple in any way. You may assert the contrary till doomsday, and raise a clamor which shall drown all opposing assertions: but Truth is Truth, though its upholders be but one against a million; and it is the simple, naked, literal truth that the passage of Mr. Taylor's bill would leave the property contributed or bequeathed to the Catholic Church for Religious uses exactly where it now is.

2. Neither will the passage of this bill arm Catholic Priests and Bishops with any new power to constrain the members of their flocks to vest in them the titles to their Churches and other Property devoted to Religious uses. That will remain exactly as it has hitherto been. Whatever power the Bishops may have in this respect, they will derive from their office and the tenets of their Church—not at all from the Law.

3. Nor will the passage of Mr. Taylor's bill increase in any respect the power of Catholic Bishops over what ever Property may be vested in them for Religious ends. On the contrary, it will limit and restrict that power. Now if a Catholic contributes or bequeaths a thousand dollars to the building of Churches, &c., in any Diocese, he is obliged by the state of our laws to vest the title thereto absolutely in the Bishop, who is legally but not morally at liberty to convert the fund to personal and secular ends. We do not say that any Bishop ever did or did so; nor do we say that our laws enable him to do so, and that this is wrong. The passage of Mr. Taylor's bill will make each Bishop a trustee in law as he now is in fact of the Church Property vested in him by virtue of his office, and subject him to legal responsibility for any abuse of his trust.

4. Practically, the passage of Mr. Taylor's bill would have exactly this effect and no more: Each Catholic Bishop, on the day of his induction into office, bequeaths or deeds all the Church Property vested in him by virtue of his office to his successor in communion with the See of Rome; but this will might be recalled or annulled, and its maker, having ceased to be a Catholic, might convert the Church property vested in him to his own private use. The danger of such perversion will be avoided and the trouble and expense of each Bishop conveying to his successor in office will be obtained by the change proposed by Mr. Taylor.

Yet the bill is beaten, because we shall not mine the matter—too many Protestants are not yet convinced that absolute Freedom and Equality is the only soil wherein true Religion can flourish. They fancy that the State can and should discountenance erroneous creeds and discipline heterodoxy for the glory of God and the good of souls. It is the old mistake, and will have the old result. By-and-by, we shall consent to let Catholics manage their own affairs in their own way, and try to correct their presumed errors quite otherwise than by legal vexations and embarrassments.

Throughout this controversy, no Catholic, no friend of Mr. Taylor's bill, has written a line on the subject, or addressed us in any manner respecting our course; while letters from other side, considerably more abundant in vehemence than in courtesy, in insult than in argument, have been plentifully showered upon us. We have no reply to make—let them pass. We do not now learn for the first time that it costs something to uphold, heartily and unflinchingly, the legal right of every human being to worship or not worship God as he shall see fit, being responsible for the abuse of this liberty to God alone. He who does not see that for the State to take property which the maker had chosen to give to the Catholic Bishop of New-York or Boston, and give that property to the cousin or brother of a deceased Bishop, contrary to the donor's plain intent and desire, would be an infringement of Religious Liberty, could see nothing wrong in compelling Catholic children to recite the Westminster Catechism or the XXXIX Articles in our Common Schools.

Gentlemen, opposite! You have beaten us this time but your triumph will not endure. We shall meet you at Philippi!

MENTAL MACHINERY.

Well advanced as this age of locomotion and labor saving is in its physical progress, every new achievement in mechanical art is hailed with enthusiasm. We transport mountains and travel like cannon balls, and yet a more effective motive power is anxiously sought for, and the spectroscopy of Ericsson only waits for boiler bottoms that will stand a slow fire. Nature's forces, visible and invisible, are made to drive, night and day, combinations of the mechanical powers that would have astonished and bewildered Archimedes or the Marquis of Worcester. Our very nut-crackers and mouse-traps are on new and labor-saving principles. How is it with our mental machinery? Not to speak of metaphysical tools and engines, such as Dugald Stewart, and his brother giants of Scotland, treated of so masterly in the days before phrenology, mesmerism and the "rapings," how is it with the humble implements of the school room where the young idea takes its first lessons in spiritual properties? Are they up with the times? Are the educators of our "dark ages" as the railroad engineers are ahead of the old stage-coach Jehus? Or, are the former still filling the old saw that "there is no royal road to knowledge"? But there is, though. At any rate, there is a shorter cut, if we are not mistaken, to the means of obtaining knowledge. It may not be "royal" nor suit itself, but it is just the thing for the democracy. Indeed, democracy must have

it opened, before it can be quite sure of its foothold on the planet.

Dr. Sam Johnson's notion of educating a boy, by turning him loose in a library, was very good, but it applies to a later stage of the business than that which we are considering. The boy must first learn how to use a library or a book. Nearly half the sum total of education has now to be expended before the boy makes a point where he can be turned loose among books to any purpose. This stage is costly and tedious. Can it be eliminated or materially abridged? Can the road from the mere English talking animal to the meaning of an English book be made so short that it can be traversed in a lifetime as one now requires to go from New-York to Cincinnati? Very it can be. Our own Franklin foresees it, and pointed out the means. The thought, not perhaps quite original with him, was even subtler than that of taming the lightning. Had the world accepted it, as soon as the sound practical mind of Franklin stamped it sterling, there would not now be within the atmosphere of printed sheets, millions, nor even many hundreds of minds in adult bodies, blank as midnight for want of schooling. What new costs to nearly half we have to expend for education, would be attained spontaneously, universally, before the very beginning. Newspapers being omnipresent, reading the mother tongue would come to children, and adults that now cannot read, as a matter of course, as much as talking. This is no theory or speculation, but an ascertained fact, settled by actual experiment on the most uneducated subjects.

The old-school metaphysicians may settle at their leisure, whether the words of a language are the tools with which the mind thinks; they are unquestionably the tools with which the thinker makes his thoughts available or marketable. Language is the grand engine of education and the mental improvement of the race; but in regard to its usual mechanism, it is centuries behind the march of our physical progress. It is half way back to the pyramids and hieroglyphics. Its combinations of signs to make the spoken words visible, are arbitrary, irrational, and mysterious to the uninitiated, and the reason why is very plain. Spoken words are produced by combinations (taken consecutively) of more or less of the forty distinct positions which the organs of voice are capable of assuming in the act of utterance. The possible number of such positions is not much over forty, and the actual number used in any language is never much less. Letters are designed to represent these several positions of the organs, or elements of voice, and nothing can be plainer than that, to make the written language easily readable, the number of letters must exactly correspond to the distinct elements of voice, and that one of the former should be unchangeably appropriated to each of the latter. Yet from Cadmus to Gauss, no civilized language was furnished with more than about half as many letters as it had simple elements of sound. The ingenious Cherokee, having a written language to make, and perhaps some knowledge of Franklin's suggestions, gave his countrymen the right number of letters, and the consequence was that children and adults learned at once to read Cherokee without schooling. In English we have 26 letters, leaving 14 of the vocal elements unprovided for. Of necessity, therefore, some of the 26 letters must do double duty, but the actual use is far worse than the necessity, so that the letters generally are multivocal or many-sounded, and hardly one is univocal. The old song had it that

"Use your letter as a letter's merely enough."

How much more then for an artist's "merely enough." The many-sounded (including total silence) of our English letters costs millions of money to school a part of the people through the chaos of spelling (orthography) and shuts out as many millions of people from all participation in the use of printed books, for the want of such schooling! If what we have stated is undeniable, why should not the mental machinery of the country be modified to correspond with the true principle? If the results of the change would be so beneficial, why should not the candidates for immortality seek themselves to bring it about? Where are the educators, the colleges, the learned societies? Are they all wedded to dust and cobwebs? Have they settled it that mechanical imperfection and absurdity shall always lie at the foundation of our literature, and block up access to its enjoyment? Has nonsense become so venerable that it must not be disturbed? Must all future generations spell their way into the kingdom with much tribulation of birth and bewilderment? Do those who have mastered the puzzle fear that they shall lose their labor if their children's brains are not racked with the same ridiculous problem? Or, shall the alphabet, of all instruments and engines of these times, be shrouded from improvement, lest the loss in trade of the bibliopoles should depreciate in value? What if our present libraries should be come as good as useless, except to the present generation of readers and spellers, by the change, if the change would be good when made, have we not paper mills, presses, ink and steam to reprint every thing viewed in the light of our physical progress, are simply ridiculous.

But the literary pedantry and conservatism which oppose this change have not a peg left to support them, for it is found by careful experiment that the new alphabet is a great labor-saver in teaching and learning the use of the other. By its aid pupils learn to read and spell the text of the old alphabet better and in half the time consumed in the old way. The invention or discovery is of incalculable value, even if the present imperfect alphabet and chaotic orthography are to be forever retained. This fact is so well established that enterprising School Committees would do well to see their schools provided with reading books printed both in common type and phonotype on opposite pages. The pupil spontaneously learns the latter and is guided by it to the exact pronunciation of every word. In regard to unusual proper nouns, this arrangement would be highly beneficial even to well educated adults. In hundreds of primary schools phonotype is thus or otherwise used, so far as the proper schools can be found. If the more popular reading books were prepared in the way we have described, the progress of the reform would be far more rapid, and we have no doubt that if one such lesson book could find admission to a school, it would soon have to be followed by enough to supply each pupil.

It is very probable that if the phonotypic alphabet were to be admitted into literature in this way, a generation would not pass before the other would be crowded out. And who but pedants, slave drivers and despots would be the mourners? Poor fellows! They have seen their best days. Spontaneous reading—every child its own pedagogue so far as spelling is concerned—is written in the book of fate, be it fatal to whom it may.

CLINTON-TOMPKINS.

The temporary creation of a statue of De Witt Clinton in front of the City Hall has inaugurated a movement for a statue of Clinton's contemporary and immediate rival, Daniel D. Tompkins. Though partisan in its origin and not inaugurated under the most commanding auspices, we trust this movement will be promptly responded to and abundantly successful.

Daniel D. Tompkins, though he seems to have achieved no permanent place in the public regard, was no ordinary man. Though not equal to Clinton in grasp of statesmanship or elevation of purpose, he was his superior in amenity of manners, in felicity of address, and in nearly all the qualities which secure an immediate personal popularity. In patriotic ardor and in genuine devotion to Human Liberty he has rarely been exceeded. His name is honorably and enduringly connected with the Abolition of Slavery in our State. He loathed Imprisonment for Debt, procured its melioration, and doubtless hastened its ultimate overthrow. He was an earnest

and effective champion of the Protection of Home Industry. He was the idol of the Democracy of his day—the oracle of its Youth—the exposure of bar-rooms—the standing toast at Fourth of July dinners. He was emphatically the favorite of this City, which never failed to give him a large majority—not even when he was running for Governor as the candidate and leader of the deadly enemies of that Canal Policy which has made New-York what she is. And though beaten by Clinton in their final and only direct collision in the canvass of 1820, there can be no doubt that Tompkins was essentially a popular and Clinton a relatively unpopular man. It was not Clinton but the Erie Canal and the rising West that won that triumph. The more Democratic section of the State throughout the war struggle, the West, saw in 1820 that the Canal question was to it one of life or death, and it then learned that wholesome contempt of party badges and catchwords—those marsh lights that "lead to bewilder and dazzle to blind"—which has ever since been its honorable distinction. And so Daniel D. Tompkins, who had been chosen Governor over a veteran Statesman while yet young and undistinguished—who had twice afterward triumphed by increased majorities over able and esteemed competitors, and had been all but unanimously called from the Chief Magistracy of the State to the Vice-Presidency of the Nation while yet in his prime—was inferiorly beaten on his old stumping ground only four years later, and went home disappointed and humbled to lay down the heavy load of life, leaving his rival in the Governor's chair, to witness the consummation of his cherished policy in the marriage of the Great Lakes with the Atlantic, to be twice more reflected against the bitterest opposition, and to die Governor of the State his measures had been immensely enriched and benefited, with the Premiership of the National Administration in full view before him. And now it is but simple truth to say that Tompkins will be indebted to Clinton for the monument which is to commemorate his virtues and hand down his name to posterity.

What were the essential grounds of this contrast? To our apprehension, the radical difference between these two statesmen was this: Tompkins was through life a blind devotee of Party, and regarded public measures primarily as helps or hindrances to his party's ascendancy. He had no personal and abstract antipathy to the beneficent idea of Government, as his ardent and steady advocacy of Protection to Home Industry demonstrates; and had his party inaugurated and upheld the Canal Policy, he would have been one of that policy's foremost champions. But the party happened just then to be developing in certain quarters the theory originating in Plantation jealousy of the activity, intelligence and plasticity of Free Labor, that "the world is governed too much"—"The best Government is that which governs least"—&c.—calculated to discourage Public Improvements, Industrial Diversification, &c., as injurious to the South because the North alone would readily conform to and profit by them. A decided majority of the People of our State favored the Canal Policy, but the Democratic party as such did not, and Gov. Tompkins went with the People if he consistently could but with the Party at all events. Hence the cloudy evening of his career did not fill the sunny promise of his morning.

Gov. Clinton, on the other hand—colder, graver, more thoughtful, more penetrating—regarded party organizations as means only, not ends—to be valued and cherished only as they subserved and promoted practical measures conducive to Public Good. He acted with this or that party in order to advance certain measures already approved by his unbiased judgment, and did not advocate the measures for the sake of the party. This course exposed him to temporary misconception and distrust—to imputations of apostasy, heartlessness, trafficking and tergiversation—to reproach as a faithless desertor of old comrades and to suspicion on the part of new ones—but Time has already vindicated and justified him. Faults he doubtless had, for he was intensely ambitious and not personally above reproach—but he needs no statue to perpetuate his name while the Erie Canal shall exist, and no one contemplating the stone that covers his ashes will be likely, as at the grave of Tompkins, to inquire—"What was he, or did he, that the People should esteem and honor him?"

The Union favors its readers with the following exquisite specimen of Organism. It is a Quaker gun, intended for effect on the Tennessee and Kentucky elections. The Barnburners will not, by such thunder, be driven away from the support of the Administration so long as there are any "spoils" left undistributed:

THE NEW-YORK EVENING POST AND THE REPUBLIC. The Democratic party has suffered in view of its association for a year past with the party of the Union. One of the great objects